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Documents from New York State Union Central Committee.

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Objections to the President's Emancipation Proclamation Considered.

S P E E C H

OF

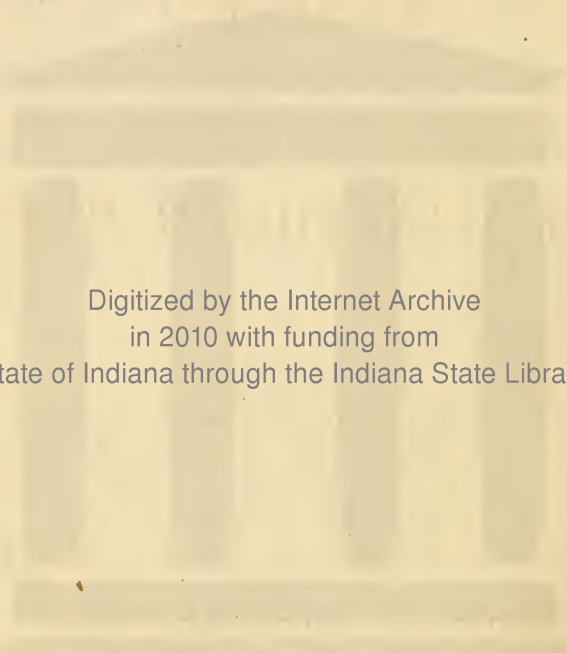
HON. ALEXANDER H. BAILEY,

OF

ONEIDA.

In Senate, March 5th, 1863.

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S P E E C H .

Mr. CHAIRMAN :

Some evenings ago, when the Governor's message was under consideration, the Senator from the Third (Mr. MURPHY) made a speech mainly upon the President's Emancipation Proclamation. Other Democratic Senators have also discussed it. The Senator from the Third, in the speech he has just made, has confined himself entirely to the subjects of martial law and military arrests. He has made a very learned and able speech. He has cited and commented upon a large number of authorities. I could not, if I would, make a satisfactory examination of these authorities, without an opportunity of reading them for myself. One thing, however, is entirely manifest. The authors whom he quotes are treating upon the right to the writ of *habeas corpus*, as it exists in time of domestic peace, when no armed rebellion threatens the destruction of the Government. They were attacking the claims and the acts of kings and star chambers in arbitrarily arresting persons when no public danger or insurrection made it necessary. The difficulty is that these principles have no application to a state of actual civil war. Then, self-preservation—an inexorable necessity—sometimes requires the suspension of this writ and the exercise of martial powers. Rebellion repudiates laws and constitutions and employs force alone. It can only be met by force. To refuse to employ it in all necessary ways is to surrender the Constitution and laws to destruction for fear of violating them.

But I have no intention of making a formal reply to the Senator's speech made to-night. I have already, on a previous occasion, discussed these topics at some length, and I do not discover that the Senator has attacked any position I then maintained, except one. What he has said about this I shall consider, and then will ask the indulgence of the Senate for a few moments while I review the arguments made here by the Senator from the Third, and others, against the policy and constitutionality of the Proclamation.

The Senator quotes a few isolated sentences from my recent speech to the effect, that I differ from himself in thinking that the people have overwhelmingly condemned these arrests, while I do say that they, in fact, almost unanimously de-

manded them at the time. The Senator then assumes that I justify these arrests by popular clamor—that I defend the absurd and blasphemous principle—*vox populi, vox Dei*. Thus conveniently supplied with a text he had an excellent opportunity to say many beautiful and eloquent things in condemnation of my supposed heresy. But did the Senator really understand me as justifying these military acts because popular clamor demanded them? Did he, or could he so read what I said? Did he not know that I was merely denying an assertion made by the Senator himself, viz.: that the great majority of the people condemned these things? I endeavored to show that this was not true as matter of fact. I did not say, directly or indirectly, that the approval of the people justified them. But I may here suggest to the Senator, that if the approval of the people cannot justify these arrests then their disapproval cannot prove them wrong. I commend to him his own logic.

The Senator further says, that the power to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus* is in Congress alone. We all know that the best constitutional lawyers differ about this; but let us suppose a case. Suppose a foreign enemy was ascending the Potomac to attack the Capital, when Congress was not in session, and the President knew that there were persons in Washington who sympathized with that enemy and stood ready to join him and give him assistance so soon as he touched the docks; could not the Commander-in-Chief seize, imprison or remove these persons "without due process of law," or is he powerless to act because Congress has not authorized him to do it?

Mr. MURPHY: The Senator from the Nineteenth misunderstands me. I conceded there were circumstances under which the President might suspend the writ without the authority of Congress.

Mr. BAILEY: I did not understand the Senator to make any such concession. But I accept the correction. I think it, however, quite manifest that this concession surrenders the whole case. The point in dispute is, whether the Commander-in-Chief can proclaim martial law and make military arrests at all or not. If there are cases in which he can rightfully do it, then all we have contended for is established. I have not, at any

time, defended all these arrests. I have expressly admitted that some of them were unnecessary and therefore wrong. All that I have tried to maintain is, that in a time of actual armed rebellion, when the very existence of the Government is in imminent peril—when open traitors are fighting us in the insurrectionary districts, and secret traitors are trying to defeat us in the loyal states, the Commander-in-Chief, if he is true to his oath to “protect, maintain and defend the Constitution,” must use all necessary means—even military arrests, when the public safety requires it—to put down the rebellion and save the country.

And now, Sir, allow me to say what I designed in reply to the arguments of the Senators upon the other side, against the Proclamation. I think they entirely misapprehend this measure. Their argument against it assumes that it was issued by the President in his civil capacity, and that it pledges the General Government, together with the army and navy, to maintain the freedom declared, forever.

Mr. GANSON: I did not say that the President issued this Proclamation as a peace measure, I conceded that it was done as a war measure.

Mr. BAILEY: This may be true as respects the Senator from the Thirty-first. But such is the position of others here and elsewhere when discussing this subject. Now, Sir, an examination will show that each of these assumptions is a mistake. The Proclamation is not issued by the President in his capacity of chief magistrate and civil executive at all. No one more clearly understood than Mr. Lincoln, that he could not do this as a civil act. He well knew that he had no power to free slaves as a peace measure, or to make any order whatever upon the subject in time of peace. He declares, therefore, that he issued this Proclamation not in his civil capacity, but “as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy;” not in time of peace, but “in time of actual armed rebellion against the Government and authority of the United States;” not as a civil measure, but “as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing the rebellion.”

Nor does he pledge the General Government, with the army and navy, to maintain this freedom forever. I repeat again, that Mr. Lincoln perfectly understood his constitutional powers. He knew that neither the President nor Congress had any authority over slavery in the states in time of peace. That this had been so before the war, and that it would be so after the war. He knew that he could not free one slave, as President, when peace should return, and that he could not guarantee the action of the states or the courts after the war. He therefore pledges the military executive, together with the army and navy, to maintain this Proclamation, but he does not say forever; and the necessary inference is that this military power will so maintain it, while it is acting as such against these rebels. Beyond that he could not pledge it, and it will be seen that he does not.

Mr. PRUYN: Does the Senator from the Nineteenth mean to say that there is a doubt under this Proclamation as to what the condition of these slaves will be after the war?

Mr. BAILEY: No, Sir, not at all. If the Senator will listen to me, I think I can satisfy him upon that point. The President had a right to make this order as Commander-in-Chief in time of actual armed rebellion, it being “a fit and necessary war measure.” He believed that the effect of it would be to free the slaves in question forever, and that no human power could hereafter remand them again to servitude. And while the war lasts he has a right to enforce all necessary war measures by means of the army and navy, and, of course, this one also. He therefore pledges the army and navy to enforce this war measure while the war lasts. Beyond this he makes no promise of military aid, because he could not.

Upon the return of peace, civil government, in all these rebellious states, will resume its sway and perform its functions. What this civil government will then do, or attempt to do with the negro, the Proclamation does not say, because it cannot. When the rebels lay down their arms, we shall lay down ours also. Then our army and navy will be placed upon a peace footing. The President will then cease to exercise his powers as Commander-in-Chief towards these states, and become again to them as he is to the loyal states, simply the civil executive of the National laws and Constitution. Every war measure which he had before used ceases to exist. Armies, navies, battles, sieges, military orders and proclamations give place to legislatures, courts, laws and the ordinary routine of government. The President cannot now blockade southern ports, bombard southern cities, take military possession of southern territory, govern a southern district by military orders, or free southern slaves if there should be any. In one word, he has no war powers whatever, because there is no war. He cannot then make a military edict affecting the status of slavery in the states—if there should be any—nor can he enforce by arms a military order previously made by him in time of war as Commander-in-Chief. His powers of this kind are spent.

The senator from the Thirty-first (Mr. GANSON), asks if the rebel states could be allowed, under this Proclamation to resume their normal condition as independent states, if they should lay down their arms to-morrow, unless they would at the same time guarantee the freedom of their slaves? And the same supposed difficulty is sometimes stated in this way, viz.: that if the South should offer to return to the Union on condition that the Emancipation Proclamation should be revoked, its submission on that condition could not, and would not, be accepted.

If I have succeeded in making myself understood, the fallacy of all this is apparent. The Proclamation is a war measure and nothing else. If the rebels lay down their arms to-morrow, then the war ceases, and the Proclamation ceases with it. It would not be necessary to revoke it even if it were desirable to do so. It dies of itself, as do all the military orders issued during the war.

The Proclamation therefore does not stand in the way of the rebel states, if they are desirous of submitting to the Government—nor does it prevent the Government from accepting such sub-

mission without any other pledge or condition except obedience to the Constitution. What they have actually lost in life or property, during the war inaugurated by themselves, is gone forever. If this Proclamation has worked the freedom of the slaves, during the war, then no revocation of it, nor any other act of the President or Congress would remand them again to servitude. If it has not done this, then such a revocation would be useless. In short, when the rebellion ceases, and the rebel states again resume their normal condition under the Constitution, then every power of the President and of Congress over slavery in the states entirely ceases. But I repeat again, what has been actually done during the war, cannot be undone, whether it be cities burned, property destroyed, or slaves freed.

I shall be sneeringly told—not here, but elsewhere—that if all this be true, our pretended love for the negro is all a sham. This is the miserable way in which our real position is met, viz.: by false assumptions and base appeals to prejudice. It assumes that the object of this Proclamation is to free the negro, not to defeat the rebellion—that the object of this measure is to abolish slavery, not to restore the Union. I confess that I have no patience with such objectors. If ignorance induces these cavils, it is so profound that no attempt of mine could sound its depths; if it be mere malignity, then argument is thrown away upon it. When or where has the President ever said that “love for the negro” induced him to issue this Proclamation? When or where have his friends ever demanded this measure for the purpose of vindicating the right of the slave to be free? The loyal people of the North have their opinion upon the subject of slavery, and they do not conceal it; but they also understand their Constitution and frame of Government. While they hate slavery as abominable in itself, and the cause of all our present evils, they perfectly well know that the General Government cannot touch it so long as it remains loyal, and they have no disposition whatever to interfere with it in that condition. Whatever may be their opinion in regard to slavery in the abstract, they have always been willing to concede to it every right it possesses under the Constitution.

No, Sir, this Proclamation is not based upon any real or supposed right of the slave to be free. It has nothing whatever to do with the moral aspects of the question. It is simply a war measure. It finds slavery to be the strength of this rebellion, and therefore it strikes it down, just as it destroys rebel supplies and rebel armies. And this weapon was placed in the hands of the President by the rebels themselves. Had they remained loyal he could not have disturbed the status of a single slave. But when they made war upon the Government they deliberately staked their peculiar institution upon the results of that war. They, themselves, defiantly challenged the President to destroy it if he could. Notwithstanding, then, all their present outcry against it, uttered merely to supply arguments for their sympathizers here, they well knew when they took

up arms that we would attack this citadel of their strength. But we are asked what is to become of these negroes after the war—will not these states be able to remand them back to slavery? No, sir. In my judgment, they cannot do this. That they may attempt to do it is very probable, just as they may attempt to restore lands or other property which we have confiscated during the war, to its original rebel owner. It is to be presumed, however, that all such acts or attempts will be held illegal and void. But these questions, if they arise after the war, must be determined by the courts. Neither the executive nor the legislative branch of the General Government will then have any power in the matter. If the courts shall ultimately hold that this Proclamation was “a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing the rebellion,” as I have no doubt they will, then they must hold that it effected the freedom of these slaves, and that no power on earth could rightfully enslave them again.

But, however this may be, it is quite evident that this question, if it arises, will be settled in this manner at last; for there is no other way in which it can be determined under our form of government, in time of peace. This will be so if the rebels return to their allegiance before our forces take military possession of their whole territory. But if our armies are compelled to sweep over the whole South, this question will be solved by the war itself. No loyal man of any party, so far as I know, has ever denied that our armies could liberate the slaves of rebels found within the field of their actual operations. Governor Seymour admits this in his message. If then this field be extended over the whole rebel country, they can and will liberate every slave of these rebels. And I am quite sure that no intelligent man will say that slaves so liberated can rightfully be forced again into servitude. Such a claim on the part of the rebels, if it should be made after the war, would be as coolly impudent, as would be a demand on their part for the restoration of muskets and cannon we had seized, or of cotton and tobacco we had confiscated.

But we are told that the Proclamation is unconstitutional, because,

1st. The Constitution recognizes slavery in the states and gives the General Government no power over it.

2d. Because it is a civil act to free the slaves, and the President can find no warrant for it in the Constitution.

Nobody denies that slavery in the states belongs exclusively to these states, so long as they remain loyal. But how is it when slavery rebels? Is it still protected by the Constitution it discards and seeks to destroy? Can it raise its arm against the Government, and the Government be forbidden to strike back? Is not this confounding the most obvious distinctions, and very much like talking nonsense? I repeat, that slavery exists in the states beyond the reach of the General Government so long as it obeys the Constitution, but when it rises in insurrection, it transforms the Constitution from a protector into an avenger. The same Constitution which shields it while loyal, pours de-

struction upon its guilty head when disloyal. And, sir, I deny that the freeing of the slaves of rebels in actual war against the Government, is a civil act. It is no more the exercise of a civil power than is the bombardment of a city, the blockade of a port, or the fighting of a battle. It is a military act and nothing else. But I have already considered this subject incidentally and sufficiently in my previous remarks.

But, says the senator from the Third (Mr. MURPHY), there is no warrant for it in the Constitution. Is there not indeed? The senator tells us he is for putting down this rebellion, and that he is ready to vote all necessary men and money for that purpose. He approves then, I must suppose, the marching of our armies into Virginia, Tennessee, the Carolinas and Louisiana. He defends, I am bound to presume, the bombardment of Vicksburg, the military possession of New Orleans, the blockade of southern ports and the shooting down of every armed rebel who stands in a hostile attitude against us. He will say that all these things are right and constitutional. Will the senator put his finger upon, and point out the provisions of the Constitution which authorizes the Commander-in-Chief to do these acts? When he has done so I will tell him that he has found that for which he sought—that the same provisions which justify the war measures I have enumerated, justify this Proclamation also. For the latter is of the same character as the former. They are all alike war measures. If any of them are constitutional, then all are. If the Proclamation be not constitutional, then our war of self-defense and every act done under it is unconstitutional. For what difference in principle is there between depriving a rebel of the slave which sustains him, and taking from him the musket with which he fights? And what difference, in principle, is there in freeing one slave and in freeing four millions of them, when all are situated exactly alike? If we have a constitutional right to free one, we have to free all. Again, I understand it to be conceded that our armies have the right to free the slaves of rebels which we actually seize, or which come into our lines. And what difference in principle is there between freeing these slaves, and freeing those still held by rebels, if we can? Is not the effect upon the slave and upon the master precisely the same in the one case as the other?

But we are told that this measure is bad in policy—that it has united the South and divided the North. I do not believe this to be true, and I think I can show it to be an error. It has united the South, say our opponents. This implies that the South was divided upon the subject of the war prior to the Proclamation. When the proposition is stated in this way every one can see its fallacy, for everybody knows that the South was just as completely united, prior to September 22d, 1862, when the first Proclamation was issued, as it has been since. It had long before made the fatal plunge into rebellion. It was ruled by an iron despotism which had crushed out all opposition to its sway. It was not in the power of man or devil to add to the unity of purpose

which actuated these rebels. If the Proclamation had not been issued, or thought of, we should have found them arrayed against us precisely as they are to-day. So far as the Union men of the South are concerned, they are so insignificant in numbers as to be of no political account whatever, except in Western Virginia, Eastern Tennessee, a part of North Carolina, and in a few other districts, perhaps; and these people do not join in this outcry against the Proclamation. They know, if we do not, that slavery is the cause of this war, and now gives it all its vitality, and they prefer, if we do not, the destruction of this curse, rather than the destruction of the Government. I concede that there are some, so-called, "border state men," who profess to be loyal, that oppose this measure, but, Sir, the listening to the complaints and threats of these quasi Unionists, has been one of the weaknesses of the Administration from the first. The desire to placate them made the policy of the Government hesitating when it should have been decided, and weak when it should have been strong. And yet these men have opposed every war measure which has been adopted. They have never given a musket or a cheer to the National cause. Adopt their views and the rebellion would be triumphant, and the Union destroyed in ninety days.

The remaining part of the allegation of the Senator is, that the Proclamation has divided the North. This is saying, in substance and effect, that, prior to the Proclamation, the North unitedly supported the Administration in the conduct of the war, whereas now only a portion of the North so support it, while another portion oppose it, and that this opposition is caused mainly, if not entirely, by the Proclamation.

It is true, Sir, that immediately after the fall of Sumter, the great body of the people of the North united heart and hand in providing for the National defense. But it must be remembered that, at this time, nothing had been done by the Government which could divide us. The only question then was whether we would fight this rebellion at all or not. There had been no armies formed, no Generals made or unmade, no disaster had occurred, no lives had been lost and no unusual taxation imposed. I say again, that there was literally no question upon which we could divide if we tried, except the single one, whether we would stand by the Government or the rebellion. This being so, the patriotism of the loyal states blazed forth with a splendor never before witnessed. It swept over the land as the fire sweeps the prairies. Copperheads and other reptiles were driven by its intense heat to their dens, and for a time they prudently remained there. But no sooner had the conflagration passed and the earth cooled, then they crawled to light again, and coiling about every stump, erected their poisonous heads and hissed again, as is their serpent nature.

From the first there was a large class among us who sympathized with the rebels and opposed this war—men who were ready to inaugurate a revolution here in favor of their friends across the Potomac. And let me add here the notorious fact that all of these men are now found in the Demo-

cratic ranks, and are endeavoring to dictate the policy of that party.

When we say, then, that the North was united, we speak in general terms, we do not mean to be understood as saying that there was no opposition to the Government. There was, in fact, a great and powerful opposition, but it was kept down by this general patriotism of which I have spoken, and also by the presence among us of a million and more of patriotic citizens who have since shouldered their muskets and joined the army. Besides, this spontaneous outburst of patriotism was so grand and overwhelming that the opposition could not make head against it. But it was not on that account inactive. It labored night and day to incite discontent among the people. It eagerly sought commands and profitable places in the army, where it has since been mainly occupied in demoralizing our troops to the extent of its ability. It refused to act with the friends of the Union in our elections. It collected the rumps of all the worn out political factions and skewered them together into one. This opposition to the Government has been uniform and persistent, and just as much so before the Proclamation as it has been since. The Vallandighams, Coxes, Woods and all that class of men throughout the North—and their name is legion—were just as bitter against the Administration before the 22d of September as they have been since. Even the more moderate Democratic leaders fought the Administration as determinedly in 1861 as in 1862. This Proclamation has given them another subject to talk about, but it has not changed or modified a single political purpose on their part. Every one of these men would have been arrayed against the Administration if no Proclamation had been issued. When they say, therefore, that this measure has divided the North, it is not true, so far at least as they are concerned. They were "divided" from the Administration before there was any Proclamation.

Let me not be misunderstood here. Let no man say that I charge the Democratic party, as such, with disloyalty. I have upon all proper occasions recognized the patriotism of the Democratic masses. I freely concede to them the same love of country which I claim for myself. When our National flag was struck down at Charleston, the same instinctive horror which aroused us, started them to their feet also. When the President called upon the North to defend its capital, Democrats and Republicans sprang together to the rescue. And there at Pea Ridge, at Shiloh, at Manassas, on the Peninsula, at Antietam, and on many other well fought fields, they stood shoulder to shoulder and mingled their blood in defense of their country.

No, Sir, I have always said and I now say that the masses of the Democratic party are entirely loyal. They unite with us in regarding this rebellion as most atrocious. They have formed with us, an unalterable determination, to put it down, cost what it may. But, Sir, the misfortune is that these patriotic men have not lately been heard in the counsels of that party. The political machinery has been seized and is firmly retained by

that skewered rump of factions and malecontents, of which I have spoken. For months past this rump has pretended to speak the purposes of the Democracy. It has possessed itself of the leading party organs, and pours forth day by day the most outrageous and incendiary attacks upon the Government. These men mean to destroy the Administration, regardless of consequences. They are, at heart, opposed to the war, though too shrewd to openly say so. They can accomplish their object more certainly by concealing their real designs, while they misrepresent all the acts of the Administration and spread disaffection among the people. Therefore they are constantly telling all who will listen to them that the Republicans plunged the country into this war, that it is an abolition war, that the people are pouring out their blood and treasure, and imposing heavy taxation upon themselves and their posterity "merely to free niggers," to use their own chaste language—that the President is an imbecile, that all our disasters were occasioned by the weakness and wickedness of the Administration, &c., &c. And worse than all this, some of them are now spending large sums of money to spread disaffection and mutiny in the army by sending cart loads of the most villainous attacks upon the Commander-in-Chief, and other incendiary documents among our soldiers.

Do I err in saying that it is this class of disguised traitors who just now control the organization and assume to declare the policy of the Democratic party? I can appeal to the Senator's own experience. When the Democratic State Convention assembled here last year, my distinguished friend from the Third (Mr. MURPHY) was appointed its temporary chairman. He made upon that occasion a speech full of beauty and patriotism, and one, too, that struck a sympathetic cord in every loyal heart in the state. And I must be permitted to add that in the few addresses I made to the electors last fall, I always quoted it as the language of a true man and a Democrat. But, Sir, did the sentiments of that speech prevail in that convention? No, Sir; the direction of its action and the expression of its policy was assumed by those whose object it seemed to be to break down the Administration and elevate themselves at all hazards.

Again I ask, do I err in saying that the class of politicians to whom I have alluded just now, control the organization and assume to declare the policy of the Democratic party? Look at the recent conduct of the Legislatures of Illinois, Indiana and New Jersey, and at the more recent proceedings of the Democratic Convention in Connecticut. What better allies does Jeff. Davis want here at the North? How long would there be a United States of America, a Constitution or a government if these men were in power? And will any man say, that these destructives who have ironically dubbed themselves "conservatives," represent the feelings or the purposes of the Democratic masses? No, sir, I cannot and will not believe it. It is a slander upon good and patriotic citizens. And here in the midst of Democratic triumphs I venture the prediction that not many months will

elapse before these politicians will be swept into oblivion. They have incantiously and prematurely betrayed their true character. Democrats whom they have deceived, and whom we could not undeceive, at length see with their own eyes the pit which is dug for them. Already the muttering of the approaching storm is heard. The little cloud no larger than a man's hand, which is soon to cover the heavens and pour down a tempest of indignation and wrath, is now seen upon the edge of the horizon. Democrats who love their country and mean to defend it, are sternly condemning this disloyal conduct. The more prudent portion of the Democratic press is sounding the alarm. From the army comes up one unbroken execration of this enemy in its rear, more dangerous and hateful than the enemy in its front. I do not mean by this prediction to say that I think loyal Democrats will necessarily turn Republicans. Perhaps not; but they will certainly find some way to vindicate their own patriotism and to punish the men who, in their names, are pushing the Nation on to destruction. At the least, they will purge their own party of the "secessionists" who now disgrace it. They will drive from their temple the leaders who have defiled it and who are trying to convert it into a den of thieves. I care not how the country is saved, nor who saves it, if it be only accomplished. I can have no regard for party at a time like this, except so far as it seems useful in the great work to be done. I can co-operate with any man of any party, who is unconditionally for the Union, and the suppression of this rebellion. But I can have no lot or part with any man or set of men, whose business it is to crush the constituted authorities of the Nation, while they are struggling with an honest purpose to put down a gigantic insurrection.

But I am wandering. I was combating the argument that the Proclamation has divided the North. I have shown that the Democratic leaders of the North had been as hostile to the Administration before the Proclamation, as they have been since. It may be further added that the Democrats as a body would have voted precisely as they did if there had been no Proclamation. A struggle for a party victory had long before been determined by the leaders. The Republicans were weakened by enlistments far more than their adversaries. The war too, had dragged its slow length along, without those results which had been expected. The sacrifice of life, the vast expenditures, the heavy taxation impending, the repeated drain upon families for their sons to fill the decimated ranks,

the uncertainty of the future, the threatened draft, the reaction resulting from a recent state of high-strung enthusiasm, and many other things of a like kind, had dampened the ardor and relaxed the energies of the friends of the Administration, and thus furnished an unequalled opportunity for the opposition to carry the election. And it did carry it by a meager majority, mainly secured in New York city and Brooklyn, and it would have carried it just the same, if there had been no Proclamation and no military arrests.

I concede, however, that the North is now divided—into Republicans, Democrats, and Copperheads. But who divided it? Is it not a cool assumption to assert that the Administration did it? To say nothing about Copperheads, the Democrats who now oppose the Administration have always opposed it, so far as voting against its candidates is concerned. I speak not of exceptional cases, but of the great body of the opposition. Will they pretend that they as a whole, or that any considerable portion of them would have voted the Republican ticket last fall if there had been no Proclamation? Why then do they say that the Proclamation, or any other measure which did not influence their votes, divided the North?

But, Sir, the lateness of the hour warns me that I must no longer trespass upon the patience of the Senate. I will therefore tell the senator what I think has divided the North, and then sit down. It is in part the inevitable effect of a gigantic, protracted and exhausting war. It is to a greater extent the result of the persistent, remorseless way in which the organs and leaders of the Democratic party have perverted the purposes of the Administration, and sown discontent and strife among the people. Instead of standing by the Administration in this extremity, they have done all in their power to break it down. Professing loyalty, they have exaggerated every error, gloated over every disaster, and fanned every spark of insubordination. Professing a great veneration for the Constitution, they have opposed the most necessary measures for its preservation. Claiming an undying love for the Union, they have thrown formidable obstacles in the way of the Government while it was putting forth every energy to save it. By these and like means they have demoralized a considerable portion of our people, and "divided" them from the support of the Government. But I promised to stop and I will do so, though abruptly.